

## Message Text

SECRET

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42

ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY IO: MFHERZ

3/19/73 X29602

APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY

IO: SDEPALMA

ARA: AHURWITCH

DOD: ISA: EAGLEBURGER

S/ S - MR. BARNES

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY PANAMA FLASH

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 050142

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, PN

SUBJ.: SC MEETING IN PANAMA

REF.: A. PANAMA 1456 B. PANAMA 1463 C. PANAMA 1470

FOR AMBASSADOR SCALI FROM THE SECRETARY

1. WE HAVE CAREFULLY REVIEWED YOUR REPORT OF CONVERSATION WITH TORRIJOS AND PROPOSED STATEMENT AS PER REF A, AND ALSO YOUR TELEPHONED SUGGESTION THAT PRINCIPLES EMBODIED IN THAT STATEMENT MAY HAVE TO BE INCORPORATED IN PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE OF A DRAFT RESOLUTION.

2. OUR POSTURE SHOULD BE THAT WE HAVE BEEN NEGOTIATING FOR SOME TIME ON BASIS OF RECOGNITION THAT A NEW RELATIONSHIP NEEDS TO BE CREATED, AND WE SHOULD AVOID IMPRESSION THAT WE ARE YIELDING TO PRESSURE GENERATED AT SC MEETING. MOREOVER, THE PRINCIPLES YOU SUGGEST ARE NOT COMPLETE, SINCE THEY DO NOT REFLECT ALL OF OUR  
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INTERESTS. FOR INSTANCE THE STATEMENT " THE EXISTENCE OF A CANAL ZONE IS NOT THE ISSUE" COULD BE MISREAD AS US WILLINGNESS TO FOREGO ITS INTEREST IN RUNNING AND DEFENDING THE CANAL. WE ARE THEREFORE PROVIDING YOU WITH ALTERNATIVE TEXT ( SEPTTEL) OF STATEMENT TO BE MADE BY YOU AS US REPRESENTATIVE. THAT TEXT, WHILE NOTING PROGRESS, ALSO INDICATES THAT THERE ARE SUBSTANTIAL MATTERS

STILL REQUIRING NEGOTIATION. TO DO OTHERWISE WOULD MAKE OUR STATEMENT SEEM UNDULY APOLOGETIC AND COULD EVEN GIVE MISLEADING IMPRESSION THAT WE HAVE BOUGHT THE PANAMANIAN POSITION. THIS IN TURN WOULD THEN BE USED BY PANAMA TO PUT FURTHER PRESSURE ON US AT LATER SC MEETINGS.

3. WE WERE NOT SURPRISED THAT TORRIJOS ACTED THE WAY HE DID DURING YOUR INTERVIEW WITH HIM. HE HAS USED SUBSTANTIALLY THE SAME LINE WITH SOME PREVIOUS VISITORS, AND WHILE WE RECOGNIZE THAT HE HAS PLACED HIMSELF ON A LIMB WITH HIS MILITANT OPENING STATEMENT, IT WOULD NOT BE HELPFUL FOR THE FUTURE OF OUR RELATIONS WITH PANAMA IF HE THOUGHT SUCH TACTICS PROFITABLE. IT SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN THAT WE OURSELVES HAVE GRIEVANCE AGAINST TORRIJOS SINCE HAD HAD LED US TO BELIEVE THAT HIS OPENING SPEECH WOULD SET A MODERATE TONE FOR THE ENTIRE PROCEEDINGS. WE RECOGNIZE THERE ARE RISKS IN LINE WE ARE TAKING BUT BELIEVE THEY MUST BE ACCEPTED.

4. WE AGREE IT MAY BECOME NECESSARY TO HAVE A RESOLUTION ON THE CANAL, ALTHOUGH OUR POSITION SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE THAT WE BELIEVE NO RESOLUTION AT ALL WOULD BE PREFERABLE. IN ANY CASE SUCH RESOLUTION SHOULD NOT RPT NOT INCLUDE PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE NEGOTIATIONS, EVEN IN THE PREAMBLE, BECAUSE THIS WOULD STILL LEND COLOR TO THE VIEW THAT THE SC WOULD THEN HAVE A ROLE IN REGARD TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. ( FOR INSTANCE IT COULD AT LATER STAGE BECOME INVOLVED IN " INTERPRETING" THOSE PRINCIPLES.)

5. FOR REASONS EXPLAINED ABOVE, NOTWITHSTANDING HELPFUL RESEARCH IN REF C, WE CANNOT ACCEPT PANAMA- PERU TEXT AS BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION. IN SEPTTEL WE ARE SENDING YOU TEXT OF RES THAT AS FALLBACK WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO US. WHILE  
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TACTICAL HANDLING WILL HAVE TO BE DECIDED BY YOU, IT

SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD THAT WE ARE NOT NECESSARILY SUGGEST-  
ING THAT YOU TABLE TEXT OF THAT FALLBACK RESOLUTION NOW.  
THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT OTHER SC DELS UNDERSTAND THAT  
THIS IS THE ONLY TEXT THAT WE CAN SUPPORT. PERHAPS SOME  
FRIENDLY DEL COULD USE OUR TEXT TO GET WIDER UNDERSTANDING  
THAT SC IS HEADED FOR DEADLOCK IF PANAMANIAN AND THEIR  
SUPPORTERS PERSIST IN LOOKING FOR A RESOLUTION ENUNCIATING  
SWEEPING PRINCIPLES RATHER THAN SIMPLE EXHORTATION TO THE  
PARTIES TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS. ROGERS

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\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* EXDIS

\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* SECRET

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